1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 While the men are doing their work, the women will have 356 been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented 412 in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently 462 woman's work.

512 They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 Though these are the three operations which are regarded 296 as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things 356 to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside 462 the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to 531 cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the 574 visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar.

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *kodtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone.

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

CHAP. VI. air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

342 The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

342 Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad,
356 and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as
372 eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The
352 plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every
252 Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form slings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, only one or two little sticks at a time.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*.

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (under-clothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join